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ABSTRACT

A relationship exists between agrarian thought and the practice of formal schooling in the rural Midwest. Three traditions have shaped agrarian thinking about democracy and its application to social institutions, especially education. Fundamentalism, localism, and pastoralism have combined to form the ideological base for rural resistance to educational reform exhibited by rural boards of education throughout the history of the Middle West. The development of these traditions can be viewed in four time periods. In colonial times, the Puritans influenced the development of fundamentalism, which was transported to the Midwest. The period between the Revolution and the Civil War marked the development of localism. The years between 1865 and 1920 saw the development of the pastoral ideal in agrarian thinking. After 1920, the traditions were slowly eroded, accompanied by steady rural population decline. All three theories took hold in the Midwest and continue to work in opposition to district consolidation, higher teacher salaries, and other contemporary educational reforms. Agrarian communities have encouraged simplicity and a conscientious consumer ethic, often manifesting itself in the kind of books, equipment, school buildings, and opportunities offered to district schoolchildren. Mass media, agricultural mechanization, and migration to urban areas have somewhat lessened the impact of agrarianism and consequently there has been more and more rural district consolidation and school change. It is no coincidence that in states least affected by the spread of industrialism, such as the Dakotas and Nebraska, rural resistance to centralization of education remains quite vocal. Contains 54 references. (ALL)

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The Ideological Foundations of Midwest Rural Education

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The Ideological Foundations of Midwest Rural Education

The purpose of this investigation is to explore the notion that a relationship exists between agrarian thought and the practice of formal schooling in the rural Midwest. Educationists have long recognized the impact of industrial tenets on urban school systems, but have generally failed to acknowledge that a similar relationship might exist between agrarian tenets and rural schooling. Generally, the pervasiveness of industrialism in the late twentieth century inhibits critical examination of what might be aptly labeled a "preindustrial" ethos. On the other hand, sentimentalized accounts of Midwest rural schooling abound.

It is the thesis of this essay that three traditions have shaped agrarian thinking about democracy and its application to social institutions, primarily education. The first, fundamentalism, is clearly a legacy of Puritan ethics on subsequent settlement in the Midwest. Embedded in the region's fundamentalist denominations was the notion of right living through religious faith and conviction. Patterns of work, worship, and schooling fell prey to dichotomized religious doctrine, where something if not right, was wrong.

I refer to the second Middle Western tradition as localism. It has its roots in the colonial period, but grew to its most significant proportions in the pre-Civil War period. The isolation of the frontier, coupled with slow communication, served to crystallize the notion that the affairs of a community were just that, and centralized state or federal governments should exercise little concern with the countryside.

The third element in the equation I call pastoralism. Inherent in this tradition is the idea that the best life is one of close kinship with the soil. The sanctity of manual labor is an important component, but the tradition is best defined in terms of what it opposes. Although its roots go back to the colonial era, pastoralism began to flourish in the Middle West after the Civil War when America began to industrialize rapidly, drawing a slow procession of rural dwellers cityward.

For a variety of reasons, fundamentalism, localism, and pastoralism lend themselves well to an agrarian environment. We recognize these traditions as phenomena of the American South, for their ideological manifestations were used by Southerners to defend a political economy based on human bondage. The tendency is to assume that the traditions were developed to accommodate the peculiar institution. Perhaps for this reason alone historians have neglected to examine the supposition that there is something "rural" at work in the spread of fundamentalism, localism, and pastoralism.

That the South and the Midwest shared elements of these traditions is not to suggest Southern and Midwestern agrarian thought were one and the same. Slavery necessitated significant regional differences. But this is not to suggest that all the excesses of these three traditions were the exclusive province of the American South. As early as 1835 Tocqueville saw that racial prejudice is "nowhere so important as in those states [the Midwest] where servitude has never been known." (1) There were other variables involved in the formulation of Midwest agrarianism. Unlike the South, the Midwest was the recipient of

a host of "foreign" traditions--predominantly German Scandinavian, and Irish, but also Polish, Italian, and Slav. As well, the legacy of the Northwest Ordinance interacted with rural Middle Western notions about the education of children.

It is my intention that this examination of rural Midwestern thought will provide insight into the ideological base from which the legacy of rural resistance to educational reform of all types has come. One can scarcely think of a reform measure that was not opposed by rural Boards of Education throughout the history of the Middle West. While we recognize Southern resistance to educational initiatives undertaken in the name of local democracy to be a smokescreen for an undemocratic system, we uncritically accept the premise of local democracy with regard to rural resistance in the Midwest.

To record the development of the three traditions which have shaped Midwest agrarian thought, it has been necessary to divide the treatment into four chronological time periods. However, just as there is overlap between the concepts of fundamentalism, localism, and pastoralism, there will be overlap in the issues discussed within these time periods. Although all three traditions were present from America's earliest days, the colonial period was the critical wellspring of fundamentalism in this country. The period between the Revolution and the Civil War seems to be marked most by the development of the tradition of localism, in part due to the necessity of the South to articulate this concept at a political level. The period between 1865 and 1920 saw the fruition of the pastoral idea in agrarian thinking. It was largely a response to increasing

urbanization, industrialization, and immigration. After 1920, the traditions were slowly eroded by the increasing mechanization, secularization, and modernization of American society. Steady rural population decline accompanied this erosion.

THE COLONIAL LEGACY

The fundamentalist nature of the early Puritans is well known. However, localism and pastoralism are concepts rarely attributed to Massachusetts Bay colony. Yet they were a part of the colonial experience and, as such, they have had a dramatic impact on the development of the American mind.

Timothy Breen has argued persuasively that fundamentalist religious views do not by themselves account for the form and development of New England's social institutions. He takes the Puritans back to seventeenth-century England, where the vast majority of people lived in small agricultural communities. These communities and small localized regions specialized in their own crafts, developed their own farming techniques, even bred their livestock to fit local preferences. Strong allegiance to agricultural communities was a cultural legacy of those who left England for America. Indeed, part of the rationale for emigrating was to escape the centralization efforts of Charles I who tried during the 1620s and 1630s "to expand his civil and ecclesiastical authority by curtailing the autonomy of local English institutions." (2)

The Puritan desire for freedom of worship may have been matched by a desire for local political and civil autonomy. Colonials carried this sentiment with them to New England. However, due to what has been popularly perceived to be a singular fundamentalist Puritan society, historians have had a marked tendency to refer to New England as if it were monolithic. Actually, there was great diversity between New England communities, a fact which reflects Breen's notion of "persistent localism." (3) Small New England communities frequently created town "covenants," stipulating which behaviors were locally appropriate and which principles were to be followed. The covenants promoted "harmony and heterogeneity, and helped to ward off the kind of external interference which had been so troublesome in the mother country." (4) Some towns went so far as to screen newcomers, accepting only those who had come from a particular region or county in England.

The irony of Puritan localism is that by emigrating to America they undertook the greatest of changes in order to avoid change. This reactionary spirit, expressed through attachment to the local agricultural community and a desire for harmony and intergenerational stability through the exclusion of strangers, manifests itself in the exclusive character of New England's schools. This tradition was transported to the frontier of the Midwest. Along with it went elements of a Puritan pastoralism.

Seventeenth-century Puritan pastoralism was a mixture of allegiance to agriculture as the virtuous occupational pursuit and a sort of Thomistic religious aversion to commercialist

"business." Though later pastoralism would grow as a reaction to industrial excess, Puritan pastoralism, as one might expect, was entwined with religious notions about worldly concern with wealth and its accumulation. This was a dominant Puritan theme expressed, in turn, by such men as John Cotton, John Winthrop, Cotton Mather, and Jonathan Edwards.

Early Puritans like Cotton warned colonists that wealth and spirituality did not mix. Said Cotton, "We are never more apt to forget God than when he prospers us." (5) Massachusetts passed several sumptuary laws between 1634 and 1650 to implore people to acquire simple habits. The 1634 act commanded that "no person, either man or woman, shall hereafter make or buy any apparel, either woolen, silk, or linen, with any lace on it, silver, gold, silk, or thread, under the penalty of forfeiture of such clothes." Five years later, the order was repeated that "no person whatsoever shall presume to buy or sell, within this jurisdiction, any manner of lace, to be worn or used within our limits." Despite these measures urging a kind of rural simplicity, the commercial ports of Boston and Plymouth were a source of great temptation for Puritans. In 1651 still another sumptuary law read, "Although several declarations and orders have been made by this court against excess in apparel, both on men and women ... we cannot but to our grief take notice that intolerable excess and bravery hath crept in upon us." (6) Governor John Winthrop agonized over the growing tendency "to embrace the present world ... seeking great things for ourselves and our posterity." The growing commercial interests of Boston were worrisome for Winthrop and he advised that "the life of

business be placed within a structure whose proportions had been drawn by the hand of God." (7)

In 1663 John Higginson spoke of the dangers inherent in mercantilism when he commented that the colony was "originally a plantation of religion, not a plantation of trade. Let merchants and such as are increasing cent per cent remember this." (8) Shortly after the turn of the century Boston cleric Eleazer Mather claimed that there should be "less trading, buying, selling, but more praying, watching over hearts." (9) Cotton Mather agreed. Throughout the first quarter of the eighteenth-century no one did more to remonstrate the growing mercantilist class of Boston. He urged merchants to set a reasonable sum beyond which all profits of trade would go to God.

Despite the sermons of Higginson and the Mathers, many Puritans of the rural areas in New England believed the crass materialism of the commercial centers had grown out of hand. As well, there was sentiment among many that the Cambridge-divines of England had been replaced by American Harvard-divines whose concern was for the souls of the gentry rather than the souls of the masses.

The Great Awakening of the 1730s and 1740s was the first concerted effort to establish a grassroots fundamentalism. The religious legacy which evolved in the Awakening's twenty year period had far greater impact in defining the fundamentalism of the Midwestern plains than the previous 100 years of Puritanism. Certainly the Great Awakening withered away and the established clergy successfully defended themselves from the attacks of men

like Jonathan Edwards and James Davenport. However, the seeds were sewn for a more equalitarian version of Protestantism on the American plains. George Whitefield, John Wesley's apostle in the America colonies, is generally credited with sparking the Great Awakening. Besides establishing a Methodist base, Whitefield gave credence to the beliefs of dissenters from the established churches: the unchurched in the North, Baptists in the South.

The spread of Methodism and Baptist denominations on the northern and southern plains in the nineteenth-century were of such fantastic proportions, no one could have predicted it from an eighteenth-century perspective. One significant aspect of American fundamentalism has been the failure of evangelists to come to grips with the tension between pure faith and formal education. (10) This is a major theme in Richard Hofstadter's Anti-intellectualism in American Society (1964). The brand of anti-intellectualism Hofstadter described received its first expression in America during the Great Awakening. Presbyterian cleric William Tennent rejected the high intellectual training required of establishment ministers. In 1726 he built his famous "log college" in Neshaminy, Pennsylvania, as a sort of equalitarian response to the seminaries of the privileged: Harvard, Yale, and Princeton. Graduates of Tennent's college, perhaps none more famous than his son Gilbert, became revivalists who preached unquestioning faith while asking subtle questions about the value of formal education. The Methodists and Baptists who built log homes in the Midwest inherited the legacy of religion as a social leveller, while they similarly

inherited the notion that formal education needed close scrutiny, lest the spirit of academic inquiry erode man's endowment of religious faith. The log college legacy of the Tennents' is reflected in the spread of Cumberland Presbyterians on the Midwestern plains. Cumberlands were a revivalist sect who in 1809 were expelled from the larger Presbyterian church because they refused to halt the practice of licensing uneducated ministers. As one historian of the plains put it, Midwesterners "insisted on a ministry linked directly to folk culture, separated neither by formal training nor professionalism." (11)

As the Great Awakening quieted near mid-century, secular developments evolved which complemented Protestant glorification of agrarianism. The gentrification of colonial society, participation in the French wars, and the increasing size and squalor of British cities all led to a growing sense of an American identity. And here there were to be no "Manchesters." Perhaps beginning with the publication of John Dickinson's Letters From a Farmer in Pennslyvania in 1768, the notion that America could be the moral superior of Britain grew. Dickinson, beginning in this mode: "My farm is small; my servants are few and good," indicated that in the colonies men had choices, and were not locked to the large estates of Britain or the alternative, the degradation of industrial cities. (12)

When the Revolution was over, this sentiment was echoed by many as an attempt was made to create a national ideology. John Adams, John Taylor, Richard Henry Lee, Philip Freneau, Hector St. Jean Crevecoeur, and Thomas Jefferson all advocated a kind

of rural simplicity as the backbone of a strong republic. In Letters From an American Farmer (1780), Crevecoeur idyllized the agrarian life, "The father thus plowing with his child, and to feed his family, is inferior only to the Emperor of China plowing as an example to his kingdom." (13) In Notes on the State of Virginia (1781), Jefferson concludes that "Those who labor in the earth are a chosen people of God, if he ever had a chosen people, whose breasts he has made his peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue." (14)

For the genteel farmers of the American nation, both North and South, the study of classical pastoralists such as Hesiod, Cato, Virgil, and others suggested an alternative from both the decadence and affluence of Rome, and Britain's flirtation with similar sins. If America could emulate what made Rome great and avoid the trap of industrial excess into which Britain was clearly falling, perhaps there was hope for the fledgling American republic. "Let our workshops remain in Europe," declared Jefferson. "The mobs of great cities add just so much to the support of pure government, as sores do to the strength of the human body." (15)

From their colonial beginnings, the traditions of fundamentalism, localism, and pastoralism moved with pioneers to the Middle West and the Deep South. A variety of circumstances, such as the physical environment, the political economy, and prevailing ideologies worked to reshape and define these traditions along regional lines.

THE MIDDLE WEST AS WEST, 1789-1865

Traditionally, historians have concluded that if there were ever a New English legacy bestowed upon the states of the Middle West, it would have to be the gift of formal schooling. It is often pointed out that even while aboard the Arbella, its occupants "appointed Tuesdays and Wednesdays to catechize our people." (16) Education was recognized from America's earliest beginnings as a necessary component of society. But this component evolved around the centrality of correct religious views.

For some historians, the Northwest Ordinance represents governmental recognition of the divisive potential of sectarian instruction. By allowing for the sale of public lands for the support of education, many historians have regarded the Ordinance and the subsequent development of truly public schooling as a Midwestern phenomenon. However, the Ordinance of 1787 stated specifically that "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." (176) The extension of Protestantism was clearly a goal to be achieved through the establishment of a public system of instruction. Lyman Beecher's Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati generally serves as evidence of New England's gift of education to the Midwest. However, this interpretation ignores Beecher's self-proclaimed agenda for western schools, articulated in his Plea for the West (1835). For Beecher, no greater goal could be accomplished than saving the frontier from

papal inspired invasion. According to Beecher, Catholics were coming and "like the locusts of Egypt are arising from the hills and plains of Europe, and on the wings of every wind, are coming to settle down upon our fair fields." He added that they "have a perfect right to proselyte the nation to their faith if they are able to do it. But I too have the right of preventing it if I am able." Beecher regarded this as his mission and the goal of common schooling for he believed "the religious and political destiny of the nation is to be decided in the West." (18) The interaction between fundamentalism, localism, pastoralism and politics is a fact of life in agrarian societies. Such issues as temperance, anti-Catholocism, racial and ethnic prejudices all oscillated between nineteenth-century religious and political spheres of concern. In discussing the propensity of the rural Midwest to abandon Jacksonian democracy for the Whig and Know-Nothing parties, historian John Mack Faragher contended that "the contextual and ritual connection between religion and politics was a powerful cultural combination that could not help but attract a portion of the evangelical poor." (19) Schooling, more than any other issue, with the exception of slavery's extension, brought religion and politics together. The Protestant revivalism which characterized the first thirty-five years of the nineteenth century is viewed by historian Lloyd Jorgenson as crucial to the spread of common schools in the Midwest. Said Jorgenson, "The entire school enterprise was suffused with the spirit of the Second Awakening." (20) The American party and its spinoff, Know-Nothingism, was founded with the sanctity of free Protestant public schools as one of

its chief concerns. In its offical statement of principles and objectives, "the American party has found it necessary to take its stand against the political action of the Catholic church in the United States." The document further resolved that "we express our firm dissent and reproof against any and every attempt to exclude it [the Holy Bible] from the course of school instruction." (21)

Anna Ella Carroll published a lengthy treatise called The Great American Battle; Or, The Contest Between Christianity and Political Romanism in 1856, a propaganda piece designed to support the 1856 candidacy of the American party presidential candidate, former President Millard Fillmore. Stating unequivocally that "It is impossible to serve the Pope of Rome and the Lord Jesus Christ at the same time," Carroll created her own definition of democratic public education by concluding that "It is only by educating our own people in our own schools, that we can counteract" the activities of "Romish priests and priestesses." (22)

Published in 1836, Maria Monk's Awful Disclosures of the Hotel Dieu Nunnery in Montreal told of subterranean passages used by priests who took sexual liberties with nuns, baptized and immediately strangled babies born in convents, and walked away from it all believing they were immune from sin. Despite the fact the book was shown to be fabrication, it continued to sell well into the 1850s. The popularity of Monk's book led to a barage of Catholic xenophobic literature. Six Months in a Convent by an "escaped nun" provides another example of the lengths to which certain Protestants were willing to go, caught up in nativistic fervor.

The eventual success of state legislatures in setting up tax-supported public schools in the Midwest was in part due to the pervasiveness of this nativism. Horace Mann, considered to be the founder of the common school movement, frequently voiced anti-Catholic sentiment. After touring France, Mann wrote, "Frivolity, sensuality, and the Catholic religion--what will they not do for the debasement of mankind." (23) The first or second superintendents of instruction in Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, and Minnesota were Protestant clergymen. Even the most successful textbook entrepreneur of the nineteenth-century, William McGuffey, was a Protestant cleric. (24) Jorgenson persuasively points out the irony inherent in the fact that the harder common school leaders pushed to make schools exclusively Protestant in nature, the more secular they became due to Catholic recourse in the courts.

A secular interpretation of the spread of education in the Midwest was that the institution was seen to be an effective way to rein in potential unrest born of geographic remoteness and isolation. (25) If the farmers of western Pennsylvania felt themselves far enough removed from government for rebellion, what of Americans in the far reaches of the Northwest? In short, whether one looks at education as a gift of the Puritans or as a secular institution born as much in the Midwest as elsewhere, schooling was viewed as something to be done to someone rather than for someone. It was this manipulative potential which aroused the suspicion of fundamentalists across the South and the Midwest.

Fundamentalism in the Midwest included the dilution of what is popularly conceived to be the Puritan impulse for education. After Whitefield's proselytizing efforts in the 1730s, Methodism grew only slowly. There were but 3000 members of Wesley's church in 1775. However, eighty years later it had grown to be the largest Protestant denomination in America, with over a million and a half members. (26) A central component of this brand of fundamentalism was rejection of various rituals, including the memorization and recitation of commandments, creeds, and prayers. (This is to say, rejection of a common pedagogical structure in early American schools.) To Methodists, religion was more a matter of preaching, singing, testimonials, and conversions then it was intellectual discourse and rigid ritual.

The Baptists in America experienced similar growth with a similar religious agenda. As the experience of the Cumberlands attests, part of the widespread appeal of these denominations was their rejection of the need for university-trained clerics. Hofstadter articulated this facet of anti-intellectualism cogently. Critics of Hofstadter's account, however, frequently point to the construction of Baptist and Methodist colleges in the last half of the nineteenth century as proof that no such anti-intellectual impulse existed. Actually, this fact seems to strengthen Hofstadter's argument. Certainly the basics of education, reading, writing, and arithmetic were useful and necessary. Among Methodists and Baptists there were always those who strongly advocated noncontroversial learning. The age-old tension between the spirit of inquiry and the spirit of

God, however, meant that formal schooling was something to be watched and controlled. If Methodists were to attend institutions of higher learning, better they go to one controlled by a board of regents made up of the religious hierarchy. In a similar fashion, local boards of education came to be the supervisors of rural schools.

If one adds the immigrant experience into the equation, the sentiment regarding formal schooling becomes increasingly complex. German immigrants, prevalent in all the Midwestern states, generally felt some distrust of formal schooling. Catholics, of course, were keenly aware of the Protestant nature of public schools, but even German Lutherans demonstrated concern over the prevailing version of Protestantism. All of this is to suggest that the connection of fundamentalist religion and education on the Middle West frontier had the collective impact of coloring the introduction of public schooling with suspicion rather than faith. Consequently, as the connection between public schooling and religion decreased, suspicion increased.

While the antebellum South became the political voice of American localism, the Midwest proved to be virulent advocates of the concept. Midwestern states were slow to act on the educational directives of the Northwest Ordinance and frequently used local autonomy to fend off schooling initiatives. Commenting on the issue of public schooling, one of the first state legislators of Illinois remarked that "it is our impervious duty, for the faithful performance of which we are amenable to God and to our country, to watch over this

interesting subject." (27) An early education historian has interpreted this passage to mean that this assemblyman wanted to create a system of public education. This is a curious reading of the phrase "to watch over." I believe it far more likely that the assenblyman meant exactly what he said, their duty was to watch over the debate about public schooling, and proceed with caution.

Two years later in Illinois, the first provision for public supported education went on the books. Five acres were leased to a group of Cumberland Presbyterians on which had previously been built a church which they wished to double as a school. The state assembly indicated that "said school shall be under the direction...of the Cumberland Presbyterians." But that "there shall be no preference of sect." (28)

If one reviews the educational histories of various Midwestern states, a noticeable pattern emerges. Regarding the antebellum period, either these accounts apologize for rural opposition to education, "There was no need for education in such a primitive society," or they castigate rural dwellers as "hating and puerile." (29) These diverging interpretations reflect a misreading or outright ignorance of the ideological base. Fundamentalism was part of it, as was localism or the notion that in certain affairs government had no business. Taxation to support public schools served to harden the resolve for local autonomy.

The communitarian localism of the Puritans which Breen described, Southern localism necessitated by the institution of slavery, and the clannishness of certain immigrant groups all

served to heighten the localist impulse of the Middle West. Part of this impulse was rejection of nonsectarian educational initiatives levied from centralized state governments. Part of the rationale for localist resistance was the widespread fundamentalism of the region. In fact, as the nineteenth century progressed, the symbiotic relationship between fundamentalism and localism increased.

The pastoralism of the antebellum Middle West was less concerned with commercialist enterprise in port cities (of which there were few), and more concerned with the sanctification of labor performed in the interest of creating communities out of wilderness. New Yorker novelist James Fenimore Cooper popularized the toughness and masculinity required of pioneers on the frontier. Cooper promoted the notion that it was the strong who went to the interior, strong-bodied and strong-willed. Another New York novelist, Caroline Kirkland, though less remembered now, also played a large role in defining popular notions of the character of the Midwesterner. Born Caroline Stansbury, she married William Kirkland and moved with him to the sparsely settled woods of central Michigan in 1836. There she wrote autobiographical novels of her experiences. A New Home--Who'll Follow? Glimpses of Western Life (1839), Forest Life (1842), and Western Clearings (1845) all promoted the virtue of simple, self-sufficient agrarian living. Comments by Edgar Allen Poe who contended that Kirkland was one of America's "best writers," and William Cullen Bryant who spoke of her "worldwide reputation" attest to the extreme popularity of these works. (30)

Events in New England near the turn of the century may partially explain great interest in the works of Cooper and Kirkland. By this time it was clear that America would not keep her workshops in Europe. Initial industrial efforts in this country were designed to avoid what Jefferson referred to as the "sores of humanity." Rather than creating industrial cities, factories were planned and built in the New England countryside. Boardinghouses, libraries, and lecture halls for employees accompanied the implementation of the "Lowell idea." It was in keeping with the legacy of Puritan pastoralism, but just as the mercantilist activity of an earlier Boston grew unchecked by the pulpit denunciations of the Mathers, paternal industrialism increasingly gave way to the potential for profit through manipulation, rather than education, of the workforce. By the 1850s, the green spaces around the Lowell factories had disappeared. In fact, another Manchester was in the making.

As the workforce in Lowell evolved from nearly all farm girls from neighboring areas to an increasing number of former New England farm families, males included, the demise of agriculture in the region becomes apparent. Concerned with the cityward trend, the Country Gentleman warned readers as early as 1854 of what happened to those tempted to give up the hard work of the farm:

> You give up your little farm, your New England privileges of schools and churches, your independent and influential membership of parish, and district and town and church, the woods and playgrounds for your children, your friends and kindred and home... (31)

The piece goes on to encourage "an independent Northern farmer to hesitate long, and consider well, before he exchanges his position for any place, where any master comes between him and his Maker." Another novelist, Douglas Mitchell, contributed My Farm at Edgewood (1863) and Wet Days At Edgewood (1864) to the growing body of pastoralist literature concerned with glorifying the beauty of farming by juxtaposing it against the ugliness of the incoming industrial era. The Civil War in America, of course, became a turning point in history like no event since the Revolution. There was something about life after the war which made life before it seem pristine. Sentimentalized accounts of "pioneer days," "log cabin presidents," and "camp meetings" led to the establishment of historical societies and "old settler associations" across the Middle West. Nostalgic pastoralism served as a rural response to an age of industrial production advanced by four years of modern war.

The Development of an Urban Nation

There is perhaps no greater testimony to the significance of Puritan pastoralism than New England's nineteenth-century literary renaissance. Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne and other Puritan descendents increasingly appalled by the excessive materialism of American society, gave voice to their discontent through lectures, novels, essays, and poems. It is true, however, that the anti-industrial sentiments expressed by these American advocates of simple living were influenced by English

agrarians such as Wordsworth, Ruskin, Carlyle, and the author of this passage, William Blake:

> And did those feet in ancient time
> Walk upon England's mountain green?
> And was the Lamb of God
> On England's pleasant pastures seen?
> And did the Countenance Divine
> Shine forth upon our clouded time?
> And was Jerusalem builded here
> Among these dark Satanic mills?
> (32)

For a group of American authors, however, using literature to explicate the dichotomy between two world views--between two styles of living--was not enough. Agrarian utopian schemes such as "Brook Farm" and "Fruitlands," as well as Thoreau's experiment at Walden Pond all speak clearly of discontent with the increasingly industrial political economy of post-war New England. In fact, the simple agrarian life for these individuals became a sort of standard with which to measure life's quality. "No one should take any more than his own share, let him be even so rich," wrote Emerson. Thoreau criticized the "commercial spirit" of an America enthralled with the "blind and unmanly pursuit of wealth." (33) The Puritan heritage looms large behind such pastoral sentiment.

To measure the impact of these patrician intellectuals on the common farmers of the Midwest would be a difficult undertaking. However, to deny that these individuals had an impact on the first generation of Midwest agrarian intellectuals would be difficult as well. Sinclair Lewis, Willa Cather, Hamlin Garland, among others, come to mind when one thinks of

literary Midwesterners who began to critique the society created by the clash of industrialization and agrarianism.

If the good life according to American transcendentalists was one lived in close connection to the soil, the church, and the community, industrialism clearly created an obstacle. Lewis' critique of Gopher Prairie depicted the impact of industrial tenets on an agrarian village. The shallow concerns and pompous deportment of Main Street's central figure, Carol Kennicot, reflects the emptiness which invades an agricultural village as the values of a larger industrial order replace those prescribed by tradition. Cather's novels set in the Middle West invariably display the need for those characters who desire knowledge and education most to remove themselves from the local community to obtain it. The early works of Garland echo this theme. In Main-Travelled Roads talented youngsters from Midwest farms inevitably found their way to the city, attracted by the possibilities of industrial capitalism. Throughout the South and Midwest, factories acted like magnets pulling rural dwellers away from the soil, church, and neighborhood. When the scientific climate of the day is factored into the equation, it appeared to contemporaries as if society was evolving, as an organic entity, away from agrarianism. Afterall, by 1900 only one third of the population were farmers, whereas nine-tenths of the nation's population drew their sustenance from the soil at the nation's founding.

Although by the twentieth-century, the political-economic shift had clearly swung to industrial capitalism, there were many Americans who felt such a circumstance held grave

ramifications. Perhaps with an intellectual debt to New England's transcendentalists concerning quality living, a cadre of turn-of-the-century social scientists lamented existing conditions. Said Harvard philosopher-psychologist William James, "My bed is made; I am against bigness and greatness in all their forms, and with the invisible molecular forces that work from individual to individual." (24) James' student, historian and later President Theodore Roosevelt, contended that "There is not in the world a more ignoble character than the mere money-getting American...such a man is only the more dangerous if he occasionally does some deed like founding a college or endowing a church, which makes those good people who are foolish forget this inequity." Sociologist Thorstein Veblen developed the notion of "conspicuous consumption" in his Theory of the Leisure Class (1899) suggesting that the values of industrialism were shallow and crass. Journalist Ray Stannard Baker offered Adventures in Contentment (1906) under the pen name David Grayson. The book idolized agrarian life, "The great point of advantage in the life of the country is that if a man is in reality simple, if he loves true contentment, it is the place of all places where he can live his life most freely." On the other hand, Grayson continued, "The city affords no such opportunity; indeed, it often destroys, by the seductiveness with which it flaunts its carnal graces, the desire for the higher life which animates every man." (35) Historian Frederick Jackson Turner in 1893 suggested that it was the availability of new land which created America's democracy, and he openly wondered about the course and stability of American institutions

in a frontierless society.

In addition to these influential scholars, the instability of the 1890s undoubtedly contributed to the growth of pastoral sentiment in the Midwest and elsewhere. The railroad quickly became the pivotal industry in postbellum America, and heavy borrowing and overextended rail construction finally caught up to it, pulling connected industries such as timber and steel into its tailspin. With unemployment as high as 25%, many workers felt there was little to lose by striking. The violence, bloodshed, and sheer number of strikes in the decade led many to question the benefits of the industrial system. Should Jefferson's nation of yeoman farmers completely disappear, could the system be saved from total anarchy? (36)

To social evolutionists, philosophers, and many social scientists, the importance of maintaining a sizeable, steady farm population seemed paramount. In a speech at Lansing, Michigan, President Theodore Roosevelt declared, "There is but one person whose welfare is as vital to the whole country as is that of the wage worker who does manual labor, and that is the tiller of the soil, the farmer." (37) This speech became part of the rationale for creating a "Commission on Country LIfe." The goal of the commission was vague. Simply stated, the commissioners were instructed to seek solutions to the "rural problem." Historians have debated just exactly what this "problem" was conceived by contemporaries to be. Traditional scholarship has interpreted the notion of a "rural problem" as a sign of urban industrial contempt for the backward lives of American farmers. To a few historians, the creation of the

commission was condescension, pure and simple; and rural resistance to the commissioners, therefore, was American democracy at its best. (38)

The migration of blacks from the South in the first quarter of the twentieth-century, coupled with the enormous rates of foreign immigration, primarily from southern and Eastern Europe, also served to crystallize the notion that America needed a stronghold of "native stock." Since the farms of the Midwest were predominantly composed of the appropriate people, it made a certain amount of sense to create a commission which would work to preserve this domain.

The growth of pastoral sentiment in turn-of-the-century America, culminating in the creation of the Country Life Commission, can be viewed as a nativistic response to foreign immigration symbolized, in some ways, by the 1921 trial of Sacco and Vanzetti; or it might be viewed as a knee-jerk reaction to the violence and bloodshed which seemed to accompany labor-capitalist relations symbolized, in some ways, by the Haymarket and Pullman affairs or the Ludlow massacre; or it may be viewed as a response to influential social scientists and scholars like James, Veblen, and Turner who painted rather dim portraits of a thoroughly industrialized America. More likely, of course, all of these factors contributed to the growth of pastoralism.

The "problem" to be solved by the Country Life Commission, according to one of its most influential proponents, Mabel Carney, was "maintaining a standard people upon our farms." (39) By "standard" we can postulate that she meant "native,"

for some reason opting to digress from contemporary vernacular. Commission chairman Liberty Hyde Bailey saw the problem this way:

> Civilization oscillates between two poles. At one extreme is the so-called laboring class, and at the other are the syndicated and corporate monopolized interests...between these two poles is the great agricultural class, which is the natural balance force or the middle wheel of society. (40)

For farmers of the Midwest, these pastoral views were reaffirming. The sanctity of manual labor, the clear moral superiority of the yeoman farmer over the wage laborer, the ideal environment for raising children, etc., were all consistent with agrarian views of the world. The commission's prescription for maintaining a healthy society, however, ran up against an equally dear element of the Midwest agrarian world view. The allegiance to localism, particularly with respect to intrusions in the area of education, put Midwestern farmers at odds with proponents of the Country Life Movement.

Contrary to the contention of some historians, Country Lifers were clearly opposed to "urbanizing" rural schools. However, they did promote district consolidation, teacher certification, and other reforms which evoked the consternation of local boards of education. On the surface, rural resistance may well be (and often has been) interpreted to reflect an adherence to tenets of localized democracy.

Closer inspection of rural localism, however, reflects some undemocratic tendencies. Faragher's Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie (1986) persuasively rejects scholarship which contends that traditional New England communalism died out as

individuals succumbed to the lure of land and opportunity in the Middle West. According to Faragher, the notion of the Midwest as an individual's paradise is not consistent with the facts of frontier settlement. In fact, he suggests settlers on the Illinois prairie were quite community-oriented and "lived in a localistic world." (41) Although frontier Midwestern communities were not as closed as Puritan communities a century earlier, Faragher demonstrates that where a person was from and who a person was related to had a strong impact on the chances of that person becoming a long-standing member of the community. The larger the kinship network, the more chance there was for successful homesteading.

Early settlement patterns reflect the importance of moving with an extended family. Often groups with several heads of household moved into a neighborhood; each acquiring land, in turn, as it became available or financial circumstances permitted. Intermarriage between the families who came to dominate local affairs was common, as were "sibling exchange marriages," where two siblings from one family would marry two siblings from another. The net effect of this practice, according to Faragher, was to facilitate "the concentration of real property." Faragher's analysis of the community around Illinois' Sugar Creek suggests that "the continuity required of community institutions was supplied by these core families, who formed a web of overlapping kin groups and came to control a large portion of the real property along the creek. Within Sugar Creek, a community of families with considerable persistence existed alongside a group with considerable

mobility." (42) One might envision the nuclear family of Laura Ingalls Wilder as an example of the difficulties inherent in becoming a landowner without the resources provided by a larger kin network. To verify Faragher's claims, one need only glance at plat maps in agricultural counties or a telephone directory of any small Midwest agricultural village to notice how a few families tend to dominate the pages.

It is not surprising to discover that representatives of these families often took positions on local boards of education. Using the school to discourage the "wrong" kind of community settler was easily managed. It may have been as simple as demanding that the King James version of the Bible be read daily. Or it may have included instruction in the religious notion of "free will," thereby incurring the disaffection of strict Calvinists. The schoolhouse itself was frequently portable, easily moved to what may or may not have been an equitable location. Rationalizing rural resistance to tax-supported common schools, Wayne E. Fuller argued that those without children in school opposed a tax to support one. However, residents without children in school generally did not serve on local boards of education. Yet it was local boards who voiced the opposition. Fuller neglects to consider the significance of moving from a subscription system to a tax system in terms of local control, yet he contends that there was no "better example anywhere of the effectiveness of democracy than the Midwestern rural independent school districts." (43) Faragher demonstrates that subscription schools "in addition to discriminating against settlers too poor to pay the teacher,

even 'in trade,' this system forced some children to walk great distances, ford dangerous creeks, or brave dark stands of timber to attend school." (44)

The establishment of Catholic schools across the Middle West is easily understood when one examines the exclusive and often undemocratic character of Midwest rural schooling. One can argue that Catholics were clannish and created their own institutions because of this. While there may be some truth to this with regard to German or even Irish Catholics, what of the Midwestern descendents of Maryland's founders? Were they any more clannish than other English immigrants? To refer to Midwest rural schools as "invaluable laboratories of democracy" also overlooks the schooling experience of rural blacks in the southern counties of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Robert L. McCaul points out the difficulties experienced by rural blacks trying to achieve public schooling in this "democratic" rural system. (45)

Control over the public school was a key ingredient of Middle Western localism. Stubborn resistance to centralization in the form of state control certainly reflects support for local democracy, whether it occurred in the North or South. However, historians have rejected the Southern definition of democracy as racist and exclusive, while accepting the Midwest definition as wholesome, equitable, and uniquely American. An examination of the fundamentalism of this period further calls into question local fervor for the neighborhood school.

Dating back to the eighteenth century, revivalism in America drew some strength from its willingness to ridicule and belittle

formal education. Peter Cartwright, the famous Methodist preacher from Illinois, frequently rejected the value of ministers trained in institutions of higher learning. (46) The accomplishments of men on the frontier were somehow more significant, minister or farmer, if they were achieved without the benefit of much schooling. In fact, boasting over one's academic deficiency has continued to be an acceptable practice in rural America, while it has become much less so in urban circles.

A famous Midwestern Baptist evangelist, Billy Sunday, delivered sermons that may well have provided moral support for rural dwellers at odds with the prescriptions of the Country Life Movement. "If I had a million dollars," explained Sunday, "I'd give $999,999 to the church and $1 to education." On another occasion he added, "When the word of God says one thing and scholarship says another, scholarship can go to hell." With his exhortations that "thousands of college graduates are going as fast as they can straight to hell," Sunday effectively gave voice to the anti-intellectualism of the rural Midwest which promoted suspicion about schooling and a subsequent desire for tight local control. (47)

THE DECLINE OF THE RURAL MIDWEST 1920-1980

The agricultural depression which began in the post-Great War era continued, with only minor upward fluctuations, until the advent of the second great war. Cityward migration continued unabated during this period, despite the reform efforts of an earlier generation of Country Lifers. The

Catholic church in America responded with its own Country Life Movement in the 1930s; rural sociological studies emanated out of research universities at this time, but, by and large, concerted effort to check the dispossession ceased.

The twenties were a decade of rapid change. In the interests of the war effort, many farmers had experimented with traction engines--representing the first substantial infiltration of industrialism in American agriculture. As with the Civil War, the times which succeeded the Great War were viewed by contemporaries as markedly different from previous years. Radios run by batteries brought music, drama, even news into the farm home parlour. Automobiles were everywhere, lending a new mobility to the countryside. An industrial culture which had evolved in urban areas generations earlier was finally finding its way into the homes of Midwest farmers. It was a consumer culture, exemplified by the rise in installment buying, fashion innovations, and prohibited "speak-easys."

Sinclair Lewis satirically critiqued the advance of industrial consumerism into the agrarian state of Minnesota with the characters Carol Kennicot of Main Street and George Babbitt of Babbitt (1923). Historian David Shi has pointed out that the literary satire went over the heads of most readers who saw in George "everything an American was suppose to be." Shi quotes a poetic passage from a "defender of middle class consumerism":

> Babbitts--though we jeer and flout them--
> We could never do without them.
> Artists all--we would be beggars
> Were it not for Butter n' Eggers...

Babbitts great and Babbitts small,
Speaking frankly, "aren't we all?"
(48)

The rural South, of course, underwent the same cultural transition sparked by agricultural depression and technological advance. A literate group of Southerners called the "Nashville agrarians" came together at Vanderbilt University to write and publish I'll Take My Stand (1930), a series of pastoralist essays defending the tradition of agrarian localism in the states of the old Confederacy. The Southern literary renaissance represented by the work of such men as Robert Penn Warren, John Crowe Ransom, Thomas Wolfe, and William Faulkner was paralleled in some respects by the development of the writer's workshop at Iowa City. Agrarian novels by Paul Corey, Frederick Manfred, and John T. Frederick, among others, represent a literary renaissance evoking the memory of a preindustrial Midwest society.

Several historians have commented that Indiana "is still accepted as best typifying America." (49) Muncie, Indiana, was the site chosen by sociologists Robert and Helen Lynd for their exhaustive study of Middletown. For this reason, perhaps, it is frequently regarded as a kind of historical anomaly that the Ku Klux Klan grew to over 300,000 members in Indiana, with Indianapolis serving as national headquarters and site of the publication of the Fiery Cross. Klansmen in Indiana evoked the legacy of Lyman Beecher in their efforts to cleanse the state of Catholic plots to destroy Protestantism and create an America subservient to Rome. Having forced Catholics to create their

owns schools with their exclusionary practices, Indiana Klansmen tried on several occasions during the 1920s to support legislation which would bring Catholic education to its knees. Blacks, of course, were also vehemently rebuked, as were recent immigrants from the "papal states" of Southern and Eastern Europe. (50)

In some ways, the spread of the Ku Klux Klan in the north was a common man's response to the very social changes which moved the pens of writers like Cather, Lewis, Warren, and Wolfe. Despite large numbers, the vast majority of Midwesterners had little to do with the KKK. Many faced the "roaring twenties" with a passivity that accompanies a sense of inevitability. Even the large evangelical churches like the Baptists and Methodists, particularly in the North, moved toward more liberal, less dichotomized religious views. Although elements linger to this day, the pastoralism, localism, and fundamentalism which characterized nineteenth and early twentieth century Midwest agrarian life increasingly gave way to the industrial tenets of mechanization, efficiency, consumerism, and leisure.

To men and women who thought it their duty to form the last line of defense and preserve what could be preserved of preindustrial tradition, the Ku Klux Klan offered an opportunity. It is for this and similar reasons that the Klan attracted such a large following in the Midwest and in Indiana, that "most typical" American state. The Klan was a consequence of the historical record and hardly, as one historian has suggested, an organization in some ways "like the League of

Women Voters and the Indiana Farm Bureau." (51) Carleton Beal, in his study of Know-Nothingism in America, relates the connection between antebellum anti-Catholocism and the agenda of the early twentieth-century Ku Klux Klan. Knighted the "agrarian rebel" by historian C. Vann Woodward, Tom Watson frequently utilized the theme of Maria Monk's Awful Disclosures and other anti-Catholic literature, contending that "so many of the fair sex are held behind the bars of convent dungeons--at the mercy of priests." (52)

Hofstadter quotes the musings of the Klan's 1926 Imperial Wizard Hiram W. Evans to describe the anti-intellectualism inherent in the organization:

> We are a movement of the plain people, very weak in the matter of culture, intellectual support, and trained leadership. We are demanding, and expect to win, a return into the hands of the everyday, not highly cultured, nor overly intellectualized, but entirely unspoiled and not de-Americanized, average citizen of the old stock. Our members and our leaders are all of this class--the opposition of the intellectuals and liberals who hold the leadership, betrayed Americanism, and from whom we expect to wrest control, is almost automatic. (53)

The power of fundamentalist faith was required to rationalize one's membership in an organization such as the Klan. The localist impulse which suggests that the character of one's community should be determined by those who wield the power therein is another complementary attribute of the potential klansmen. Also, the pastoral views that an agrarian life is the best life, and that industrial factories attracted undesirables such as blacks and the papal servants of Southern

and Eastern Europe, both served to support the growth of the Klan in the Midwest of the 1920s.

CONCLUSION

In Machine in the Garden (1964), Leo Marx summed up the impact of pastoralist sentiment in America, "We see it [pastoralism] in our politics, in the 'localism' invoked to oppose a national system of education." (54) The record of rural opposition to centralized educational control is long and consistent. I do not mean to suggest, however, that all rural people oppose innovation in education or that all rural people harbor anti-intellectual sentiment. I do mean to suggest that such sentiment is consistent with the roots of agrarian thought in the Midwest. To the extent that pastoral ideals, localist logic, and unswerving fundamentalist conviction are at work in opposition to district consolidation, higher teacher salaries, or other contemporary educational reforms, I believe it is fair to say that a legacy of agrarianism lingers in the rural Midwest.

Dating all the way back to Puritan sumptuary laws, agrarian communities have encouraged simplicity and a kind of "conscientious" consumer ethic in contrast to what Veblen identified as the conspicuous consumption of the industrial community. This ethic often manifests itself in the kind of books, equipment, school buildings, and opportunities offered to district schoolchildren. However, I am not suggesting that state centralization necessarily translates into a better education, or that buying a second-hand piano reflects less

concern for students than the purchase of a new one. What I am suggesting is that the system of formal schooling in the rural Midwest reflects an ideological base different from the larger urban-suburban culture in this country.

Mass media, agricultural mechanization, and the procession of the dispossessed cityward have all eroded the preindustrial ethos which was still quite prevalent in the rural Midwest prior to 1920. The result has been less and less adherence to the tenets of agrarianism and consequently more and more rural district consolidation and school change. It is no coincidence that in states least affected by the spread of industrialism, such as the Dakotas and Nebraska, rural resistance to centralization remains quite vocal.

The intention of this essay was to demonstrate that rural Midwest society, like any other society, has produced a set of ideas about how and in what manner youth should be educated. Agrarian educational thought is in keeping with what makes a good person and a good contribution to the stability of the community. Gender is a major determinant of the type of contribution an individual will make in rural society, although I chose not to explore this component here. Regrettably, cheerleading the democracy of rural Midwest education seems to be misguided scholarship. Faragher's research demonstrated the tension between long-standing families and those more recently settled. Indeed, in Midwest rural society, community acceptance is often reserved for one's children, a lifetime of work being too short a time for the community to pass judgment. The character and make-up of the rural community remains, to a great

extent, what those who wield power there prefer. Increasing state control over schooling diminishes the degree to which the institution can be used for community ends. This is the reality behind rural resistance to schooling innovation, and it springs from an ideology based on the tenets of preindustrial agrarianism.

NOTES

1. The quotation from Tocqueville is taken from C. Vann Woodward, "White Racism and Black Emancipation," New York Review of Books 12 (February 27, 1969): 5-11.

2. Timothy Breen, "Persistent Localism: English Social Change and the Shaping of New England Institutions," William and Mary Quarterly Third Series. 32 (Spring, 1975): 3-28.

3. Ibid., 19.

4. Ibid., 20.

5. Alan Heimert, Religion and the American Mind (Cambridge, MA: 1966), 28.

6. Passages from Puritan sumptuary laws are reprinted in David E. Shi (Ed.) In Search of the Simple Life: American Voices Past and Present (Salt Lake City, 1986), 18.

7. David E. Shi, The Simple Life: Plain Living and High Thinking in American Culture (New York, 1985), 13.

8. Ibid., 16.

9. Ibid., 17.

10. See page 25 of Lloyd Jorgenson's, The State and the Nonpublic School (Columbia, MO: 1987), for a discussion of the spread of Baptist and Methodist denominations in the Midwest. Jorgenson contends that fundamentalists "were often skeptical of the value of any education beyond the rudimentary level." Scott Miyakawa concurs with this analysis in Protestant and Pioneers: Individualism and Conformity on the American Frontier (Chicago,

1964). His book contains a chapter devoted to attitudes toward formal education within the popular denominations which shaped frontier Protestantism.

11. John Mack Faragher, Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie (New Haven CT: 1986), 161.

12. Dickinson is quoted in Shi, In Search of the Simple Life, 83.

13. Crevecouer is quoted in David E. Greenberg, (Ed.) Countryman's Companion (New York, 1947), 121.

14. This passage is taken from Jefferson's "Notes on the State of Virginia," reprinted in Shi, In Search of the Simple Life, 98.

15. Ibid., 99.

16. James Axtel, The School Upon a Hill (New Haven, CT: 1974), 24.

17. Paul Mattingly, "American Schoolteachers Before and After the Northwest Ordinance," in Paul Mattingly and Edward Stevens, (Eds.) Schools and the Means of Educations Shall Forever Be Encouraged (Athens, OH: 1987), 45.

18. Lyman Beecher, Plea for the West (Cincinnati, 1835), 11, 72, 91.

19. Faragher, Sugar Creek, 196.

20. Jorgenson, The State and the Nonpublic School, 28.

21. Principles and Objectives of the American Party (New York, 1855), 19, 29-30.

22. Anna Ella Carroll, The Great American Battle; Or, The

Contest Between Christianity and Political Romanism (New York, 1856), 62-64. Ira M. Leonard and Robert D. Parmet provide an insightful study of this issue in American Nativism, 1830-1860 (New York, 1971). Additionally, they have reprinted excerpts from several nativistic tracts of this time period.

23. Jorgenson, The State and the Nonpublic School, 37.

24. Probably the best analysis available on nineteenth-century textbooks is Ruth Miller Elson's Guardians of American Tradition: American Textbooks in the Nineteenth-Century (Lincoln, NE: 1954).

25. Peter Onuf, "The Founders' Vision: Education in the Development of the Old Northwest," in Mattingly and Stevens, Schools and the Means of Education, 5-13.

26. Richard Hofstadter, Anti-intellectualism in American Life (New York, 1963), 97.

27. John Cook, Educational History of Illinois (Chicago, 1912), 28.

28. Ibid., 29.

29. Richard Boone, A History of Education in Indiana (New York, 1941) 42.

30. Shi, The Simple Life, 117.

31. Henry Finch, "Stick to the Farm," Country Gentleman 3 (April 27, 1854): 268-269.

32. Blake's passage is quoted in Leo Marx, The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America (New York, 1964) 18-19.

33. Shi, The Simple Life, 131, 142.

34. Ibid., 145.

35. David Grayson, Adventures in Contentment (New York, 1906), 10.

36. Nell Painter's Standing At Armageddon: The United States, 1877-1919 (New York, 1987) provides perhaps the best description available of the turmoil America experienced while evolving from an agrarian to an industrial state.

37. Report of the Commission on Country Life (New York, 1911), 121.

38. The best historical treatments of the Country Life Movement include David Danbom, The Resisted Revolution: Urban America and the Industrialization of Agriculture, 1900-1930 (Ames, IA: 1979) and William Bowers, The Country Life Movement in America, 1900-1920 (Port Washington, NY: 1974).

39. Mabel Carney, Country Schools and the Country Life Movement (Chicago, 1912), 2.

40. For a discussion of how pervasive this view was, see Grant McConnell, The Decline of Agrarian Democracy (Berkeley, CA: 1953), 23, and Liberty Hyde Bailey, The Country Life Movement (New York, 1911), 16.

41. Faragher, Sugar Creek, 143.

42. Ibid., 160.

43. Wayne E. Fuller, The Old Country School: The Story of Rural Education in the Middle West (Chicago, 1982), 51.

44. Faragher, Sugar Creek, 127.

45. Robert McCaul, The Struggle for Black Public Schooling in Nineteenth-Century Illinois (Carbondale, IL: 1987).

46. Faragher, Sugar Creek, 160.

47. Hofstadter, Anti-intellectualism in American Life, 119.

48. Shi, The Simple Life, 221.

49. James H. Madison documented the historical tendency to cite the Hoosier state as the one most typical of America in Indiana Through Tradition and Change, 1920-1945 (Indianapolis, IN: 1982), 3-5.

50. James H. Madison, The Indiana Way: A State History (Bloomington, IN: 1986), 293.

51. Ibid., 290.

52. Carleton Beals, Brass Knuckle Crusade: The Great Know-Nothing Conspiracy (New York, 1960), 296.

53. Hofstadter, Anti-intellectualism in American Life, 142.

54. Marx, Machine in the Garden, 4.